619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
614 name of the clan or larger lineage *ma* and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(neko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. The *dho keny*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

583 certain relatives. According to Shaw these represent the conventional payment which is made without question or discussion.(1) They are the basic minimum required if the marriage is to be concluded. One or two at a time are transferred over a period of about two years.

2. The *dho i keny*: additional cattle, the number of which is determined after lengthy negotiations between the husband's people and the wife's people. They average about 5 to 7. A number of goats are also handed over. If the two families are very friendly the transfer of the last animal may be postponed until the marriage of a daughter of the union.(2)

The father of the bride gets the bulk of the animals, most of which will be used as bridewealth for the marriages of his sons. The bride's maternal uncle gets a heifer and, according to Shaw, her paternal uncle gets a bull and heifer.(3) Usually the bride's family make some return gifts to the bridegroom's people, amounting to at least three head of cattle.

586 If there is a divorce the husband can demand the return of the cattle with their progeny. Usually every effort is made to avoid repaying bridewealth and the wife is often replaced by a sister or cousin. If two children have been born no bridewealth cattle would be returned if the wife died or left her husband; if there were only one child the bridewealth would be returned but two or three beasts would be retained.

Marriage Ceremonies

583 According to Evans-Pritchard, there are two forms of marriage: *por* and *neko*.(4) *Por* is marriage by elopement, and is regarded as shameful. Usually the girl's parents accept the situation and the union is regularised by the acceptance of some cattle - but fewer than is normal. *Neko* is the correct and usual form of marriage; a long chain of events intervenes between the time of obtaining the parents' permission to marry, and the marriage itself. It takes several months to complete a marriage, sometimes several years, according to the individual family circumstances.(5)

585 When the parents on both sides agree to the proposal of marriage, there follows the ceremonial capture of the bride - the *nako nyako*. A mimic fight occurs between the bride's people and the bridegroom's party, and the bride resists to show that she is not eloping. She goes to the bridegroom's village and is deflowered in the presence of witnesses. She is given a girdle with a tail *(cieno)* which she wears as a sign of her new status.

The *diero* and *lupo* ceremonies take place within a few weeks and are followed by the *duoko* party, which consists of a visit to the bride's parents and the paying of respects to her mother. There is feasting, singing and drinking through the night, and a few days later the bride returns to her parents' home. The bride now spends part of her time with

(1) Shaw, *JEAINHS*, 1932, Nos.45-6, p.45.
(2) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, 1950, p.139.
(3) Shaw, *op.cit.*
(4) Evans-Pritchard, *op.cit.*, p.132.
(5) Shaw, *op.cit.*

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

Por

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *por* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *simba* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his sweetheart run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhako ma por* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding.

Meko

Meko is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unrelated girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *simba* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagam* or *jatelo*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *simba*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagam* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage.

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the kraal. The *jagam* enters the homestead and goes to the *suvindhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *pim*, and he shouts to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagam* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *simba*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one

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she has left. The bridegroom keeps away from her—they are shy together and do not converse when in company.

After the bride has been dragged from her home the girls of her homestead follow after her singing. This singing party of girls, called *jodariya* or *omower*, arrives at the bridegroom's home in the evening. Now takes place the defloration of the bride in the presence of her sister, called *jadong*, perhaps accompanied by another girl of her home, and one of the bridegroom's married brothers. The *jadong* lays an ox-hide on the floor of the hut and draws the bride and bridegroom, both naked, towards it. She puts out the fire and in the darkness the marriage is consummated, though without orgasm. The witnesses rekindle the fire and by its light examine the man's member for the *ring ruoh*, the hymen. When the *jadong* sees it she shouts the news to the girls of the singing party outside, who then enter and beat the bridegroom, saying: 'You have killed our sister.' He gets out quickly and goes away. The visiting girls and the young men of the home sing together all night, the bride remaining with them in the *simba*. If the bride is found not to have been a virgin there is no singing because of the shame. However, it makes no difference to the validity of the rite and if there is subsequently a divorce, a cow called *dher dwong nyako*, the cow of the maiden's honour, has to be paid by the bridegroom's people whether his bride was a virgin or not.

Early next morning the party of girls return home, taking the hymen with them and singing all the way. When they enter the bride's homestead all the people of the home throw ashes towards her father and mother. The girls then eat, for they are very hungry, not having eaten at the bridegroom's home. His parents took no notice of them, either by providing them with food or in any other way. 'They are enemies.' The bride remains in the bridegroom's home, and the *jadong* with her to keep her company. Still no bridewealth has been paid and there has been no discussion about it.

Shortly after the marriage has been consummated the bridegroom's people give the bride a *ciemo*, a girdle with what looks like a tail, made of fibrous material, at the back, to wear as a sign of her new status. They present her with a goat at the same time. They also give her a small pubic covering.

Dierro

A large party, called *jodiro*, now—generally on the day after the defloration, I believe—goes singing from the bride's district to the home of the bridegroom. There may be more than a hundred young men and girls in this party, the men bearing clubs and shields and wearing ostrich-feather head-dresses. They wait outside the bridegroom's homestead and send the bride's brother to call her out. When she comes her brother asks her: 'What do you think? Do you agree that we ask for a bull? Are you willing to stay with your husband and be his wife?' The *jadong*, who has come out with her, knows her mind and answers for her. The brother reports to his companions that she agrees. They enter the kraal and point to an ox and say that they want that one. The bridegroom's father may do no more than promise them an ox but generally he gives it to them right away, though not the animal they have chosen for they will have picked out the best he has. After argument they agree to accept the one he gives them and take it home with them. It is kept by the bride's father and counts as part of the bridewealth. Two or three days after the visit of the *jodiro* party

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the bride's sisters visit her, bringing porridge. Often her parents kill a goat and cook it and send the meat with the porridge, and it is eaten by the bride and the bridegroom's sisters. The bride's sisters return home the same day if they live near, on the following day if they live far away. The bride generally returns to her parents after this visit.

Lupo

About a week later takes place the *lupo* ceremony. The bride's family kill a bull and sometimes also a goat or sheep and some fowls. If they are rich they may kill two bulls. Apart from one foreleg, the head, and the skin, which they keep for the elders of their own household, the carcase is taken raw to the bridegroom's home by the bride's young kinsmen in advance of her young kinswomen who follow with the cooked intestines, some meat off the ribs, and porridge. The bearers of the meat take it to the hut of the bridegroom's mother where it is divided into customary portions among the people of his home. When the bride's kinsmen have put it down they fling their clubs at the fowls till they have killed a cock, which they roast in the dung fire and eat. They shout to the people of the bridegroom's home demanding porridge to eat with it, but this is not always provided. They then return home, passing the girls who are bringing the cooked meats.

The girls wait a few hundred yards away from the bridegroom's homestead and send a girl to the *siwbe* to summon the bride to come and eat. She asks the messenger whether the other girls of the home have been told about it and the messenger replies: 'No, it is for you to collect your people together.' The bridegroom's people, and not the people of her parents' home, are her people now. The bride shouts to the girls of the homestead, chaffing them: 'Come out and eat. We want to feed you. You never see good meat in this homestead. Now you have married a rich man's daughter and will get meat.' The bride comes out of the homestead with the *jadong*, who has been with her all the time, and her husband's sisters. They sit down and eat the meat, the bride herself eating only a morsel, while the visiting girls sing in the kraal. When they have finished their meal they join the visitors with whom they fix a day for the next ceremony, the *duoko*, the returning of the bride to her parents. The visitors then return home.

Duoko

This ceremony is called *ter* to the south of the Kavirondo Gulf. It takes place a few days after the *lupo* ceremony. The husband's people and their friends form a party, called *joduokayako* or *joterayako*, to visit the wife's parents. Before setting out the women of the home smear the wife and the *jadong* with butter at the entrance to the hut of the husband's mother and throw sesame over them. The sister of the husband brings a twig and hands it to her brother and tells him to beat his wife. He gives her a stroke with it. The sister then hands it to the wife who strikes her husband with it. The party now set out, often taking a goat with them. The husband's sister leads the procession, followed by the wife and her *jadong*. When they reach the wife's homestead its womenfolk rush out and prevent them from entering it. An old woman, preferably the bride's grandmother, pierces the lower beak of a fowl, threads a cord through it, and ties it round the wife's neck. She then cuts off the lower beak and throws the

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583 585 fowl to the ground. The small boys of the home kill it and afterwards eat it. The visiting party now enter the kraal and pay their respects to the wife's mother. The night is spent in eating, drinking, singing, and flirting. If the owner of the homestead is rich he may kill an ox in the morning for the visitors to feast on. The visitors then return home, taking with them the wife, or bride, but not her *jadong*. The wife returns to her parents after spending a few days in her husband's home.

So far there has been no talk about cattle, but after this ceremony the husband, or his father, begins to pay bridewealth and the wife's parents put pressure on him to expedite payment by encouraging their daughter to return home on frequent visits. The husband cannot prevent her departure, nor can he demand her return, but he has the right to send his brothers to seize her and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his home whenever he sees her at a public gathering, to-day often at a market. The husband pays an animal, then the wife returns to her parents, then he pays another animal, and so on, till the parents are satisfied and let him take his wife for good.

Powo

The husband starts paying the bridewealth after the *dwoko* ceremony by sending to his parents-in-law a young bull called *dher powo* because his father strikes it with a twig of the *powo* tree before dispatching it to them. The wife remains with her parents for about a month after this payment, and then takes place the *dwoko powo*, the returning of the twig, when the wife returns to her husband in the company of her *jadong*. She stays with him a few days and returns to her parents.

Riso

As the husband is anxious to start a home of his own and cannot do so while his wife is constantly running back to her parents he now pays the cattle as fast as he can. When he has paid from six to twelve head of cattle he sends his *jagam*, the go-between who negotiated the marriage, with his brothers to tell his father-in-law that he has now paid the bridewealth and wants the *riso* ceremony to be held. He says that he will pay later the cattle still owing. After this ceremony his wife will remain with him and be a full wife to him in both a domestic and a legal sense. She will cook for him and he will have redress if she has sexual intercourse with other men in the *simba*. The *riso* is the binding act of marriage.

When the *jagam* and the husband's brothers make their request the wife's people laugh at them: 'What are twelve (maybe) head of cattle? You are playing a game. You can go and tell your brother to come and take his cattle back.' The *jagam* refuses to make any more payments, so they tell him to go back and tell his friend to remove his cattle. When the husband hears this he asks his relatives and friends to accompany him to his parents-in-law. They take a heifer or young bull with them to placate them. The husband assumes a downcast expression and makes himself appear as miserable as he can. He does not cheer up even when his parents-in-law send him beer to drink in their *simba*. The visitors ask for their wife and her father may consent to her going if they promise to pay the rest of the cattle soon, but usually he is obdurate. He says: 'Go and get that cow. You are still playing a game. I don't want to keep the girl here. It rests with you when you take her. You can take her to-day if you like, but you must first bring the rest of the cattle.' The *jagam* and the father argue. Everyone

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knows more or less what is going to happen. If the husband is really poor the father will eventually give way. If he has a number of cattle the *jagam* gives way and promises one more beast. It is very rare for a marriage to be broken off on account of cattle at this stage. If the father is very obstinate the husband's people return home leaving the husband behind to sulk in his father-in-law's *simba*. He refuses to eat the food his mother-in-law sends him there and gets an occasional meal with friends in the vicinity. After several days his father-in-law says to him: 'Hello, are you still here? What are you doing here?' The young man replies: 'I want to die here in your kraal.' The father-in-law says: 'You can't do that. Get out.' He refuses to go without his wife and finally the father-in-law says: 'I am tired of you both. Get out and take your wife with you, and mind you pay that cow quickly', and he calls his daughter and tells her to get out with her husband as he is tired of seeing him there. He pushes them both out of the homestead.

The ceremony of *riso* is then held in the husband's homestead, where he has collected all his relatives and friends. It is a day of great gaiety. The wife and a party of girls from her home come singing to her husband's home. When they are a few hundred yards from his homestead the wife and two of her friends hide themselves. The other girls come on in a body, enter the kraal and go straight to the *simba*. One of the husband's brothers asks where are the rest of the party, meaning the wife. The wife's eldest sister replies: 'I don't understand what you are talking about. There is no one missing. We are all here.' Some youths are sent out to scout round to see if they can find the wife. They move softly, looking about them and listening for sounds. When they find the wife they pull her to the entrance of the kraal. Here she says: 'I don't want to enter your homestead. You give me what you know.' He promises to give it to her later in the *simba*, but she refuses to enter without a payment, so he gives her an arm-ring, called *manyonge* in Alego and *onyonge* in South Luoland. At the entrance to the *simba* she says she must have something in return for bending down to enter it and they often make her another gift for this purpose, though a rough brother of her husband may just take her by the scruff of the neck and push her in. In the hut she says that she is very tired and wants to sit down. One of the men forces her to sit.

The visiting girls spend the night at the husband's home. Some of them may spend it with local youths in their bachelor-huts. Next morning the husband's people bring a bull or an ox and call the senior girl of the wife's people and ask her to accept it. She always says that it is too small, but when the husband pleads poverty she accepts it. The visiting girls take some of the meat home with them on the following day, but they eat most of it that night in the *simba* after the husband's people have given the wife an ornament in return for that privilege. They must give her another present to enable her to sit down there. All the husband's people bring her gifts. She sits with her legs tucked under her and has to be given a present to stretch them. She says she wants to spit and they give her something to enable her to do so. She says that soot from the roof may fall in her eyes, and they give her something to compensate her for the risk. They also give her a number of other presents, each of which has its name: *ra yanji mavo*, a goat to pay in advance for any insulting remarks the husband may make about his mother-in-law; *ra luor tawo*, a goat for the wife to place her husband's daily gruel respectfully before him; *gir bangala higa*, an ornament for the burns a wife

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585 431 may incur while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ngolo olawo*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will always be expectorating on the floor; *gir logo*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir teno wic*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kom*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *diend then*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *juro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *riso* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: 'You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also.' The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *riso* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

585 591 After the *riso* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise, her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miaha*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gango* in Southern Luoland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simba* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simba*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

585 The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloha

583 The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloha*, *dho nyombo*, and *dho keny*. The number of

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animals paid varies according to the circumstances of the time. From the information recorded by early authorities (Johnston, Hobley, Northcote, Stam, and Hartmann) it appears that before cattle plague had destroyed much of the Luo livestock at the end of last century, anything between twenty and forty head of cattle were paid. Since then, until recently, bridewealth has fluctuated between two or three and six or seven head of cattle. One gathers from Shaw's account that in 1932 round about twenty cattle were regarded as a suitable bridewealth. My own inquiries in 1936 led me to believe that at that time the number of cattle paid might be expected to be somewhere between fifteen and twenty.

They fall into two parts, the *dho keny* and the *dho i keny*. The *dho keny*, the animals the husband pays first, are those which are named and earmarked for certain relatives of the bride. They comprise the basic minimum which has to be paid if the marriage is to be concluded. These are the *dher maro gi nyatheni*, the cow of the mother and its calf, *dher wuoro gi nyatheni*, the cow of the father and its calf, *dher atum*, the cow of the bow, a female calf which goes to the father's brother, *dher ciwo*, the cow of the fresh milk, *thum dhok*, a bull for the father, *ruath pala*, the calf of the knife, which is paid so that if any of the bridewealth cattle die in the home of the bride's parents they may eat the meat—before it is paid they send the meat to the bridegroom and he has to replace the beast; *ruath dier*, the ox provided for meat at the *diero* ceremony, and *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, an animal killed by the bridegroom's people to provide the mother of the bride with meat—it is killed in her home but there is no special time when it has to be presented. Except for the cow, and perhaps a calf with it, which goes to the paternal uncle and the ox slain to feast the visiting girls at the *diero* ceremony, all these animals are taken by the parents. The terms by which they are described differ in different parts of Luoland.

I believe that to the south of the Kavirondo gulf no distinction is made between the named and the unnamed cattle, but it is a very important distinction in Alego, where the husband's *jagam* and brothers are most careful, when they take the named animals to the home of the bride's father, to leave no doubt in his mind which particular animals he is receiving. He cannot then get an additional animal by claiming later that one of those which must in all marriages be paid has not been paid. The husband pays one or two of the *dho keny* at a time and it generally takes about two years for him to hand them all over. In addition he has to pay the *dho i keny*. The number of these extra cattle is not fixed and is reached by negotiation between the husband's people and his father-in-law. Nevertheless there is a conventional average, in 1936 between five and seven head of cattle. It is about the odd extra beast or two that the lengthy discussions take place. Some of the *dho i keny* are paid shortly after the *dher powo* (which counts as one of them) has been handed over but the husband does not pay them, if he can avoid it, until he has settled all the named claims, as he may otherwise find that he has to give more cattle than he bargained for. In addition to cattle the husband's people pay a number of goats, between five and ten. The husband may not be able to pay all these animals for some years, and if his father-in-law is friendly he will not press him too hard to settle a small outstanding debt. The final animal perhaps will not be paid till the wife's daughter is married.

[184]

Although the father of the bride gets the bulk of the bridewealth, most of the animals will be used to marry wives for his sons, and he may give one or two to his

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

583 brothers. The bride's maternal uncle generally gets a heifer, the *dher nyakwo*, the cow of the sister's daughter, but it is not, I think, regarded as being part of the bridewealth and the payment in no way concerns the father of the bride. It is given to the maternal uncle in return for gifts, may be a ram, some chickens, and some eleusine, and for hospitality to the husband; for a well-disposed maternal uncle invites him to his home. The uncle has no legal right to the heifer. The Luo say that the *ner* is only an *ora*, the maternal uncle is only an in-law (of the father of the bride).

The last of the animals to be paid seems to be the *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, to which I have earlier referred. It is also called *hedho* and by other names. This ox is sometimes not paid till several years after the bride has been through the final rites of marriage. The husband's people drive it to the mother-in-law's home, arriving very early in the morning before the people are up, and they take the further precaution of severing the tendon of one of its legs as they drive it into the kraal, so that the young men of the home cannot seize it and add it to their herd. It is meat for the mother and not an ox for the herd of her husband and sons. It is then killed in front of the mother's hut. The wife's parents probably make the husband's party a return present of a sheep. They eat part of it in the home of the wife's parents and take the rest of the meat back with them to their own people.

It should be noted that the bride's family have to make return gifts to the husband's people and that these are also called *miloka*. Some of the gifts are animals slaughtered during the marriage rites, but it seems that they also have to pay one or two other beasts at various times to the husband's people. I was told that they hand over at least three head of cattle altogether, or as many as five if they are rich, including those killed for meat during the ceremonies. This is a point that invites further inquiry.

586 Everything paid by the husband's people to the wife's family counts as bridewealth and should there be a divorce the husband can demand their return, together with the progeny of the animals of the bridewealth. However, Luo regard divorce as a grave misfortune, and if the breach is occasioned by the wife's misbehaviour or is due to her running away from her husband, her parents make every effort to maintain the alliance they have entered into with the husband's people by replacing her by a sister or cousin. Also, if a wife dies the return of her bridewealth is regarded as a last and most undesirable resort. Instead, her parents try to replace her by a sister or cousin. This is known as *apongo dhwonga*, the filling of the basket. The husband may have to wait many years before he gets his new wife. He has to go through the full ceremonies of marriage with her and to pay bridewealth, though only a few cows, perhaps five or six. More are asked for if the replacement is from a different family. In the event of the bridewealth being returned, two or three head of cattle, according to the circumstances of the case and the sex of the child, are retained by the wife's people for any child she bore her husband, the child remaining with him. I believe that after the birth of a second child no cattle would be returned. However, even when a wife dies leaving several children behind her, her parents try to give the husband a relative in her place to keep up the alliance.

Ci liend

587 When a marriage has been completed, that is to say after a child has been born, it is regarded by Luo as a union which should not in any circumstances be broken. If the

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

765 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [726] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [555] [536] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 ●583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of millet porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and much drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 586 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 583 [622 619] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, smoke pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 286

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Oriadi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use clubs and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other rparts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *wuoye*,
885 that for a married man *jaat*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *musombe*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
● 585 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala* = homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource.

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilised, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

8:Shaw G-5 (ca.1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

When the *dho golo onyimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochiemo*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

583 585 with him three or four cows. The party entered the *dala* very slowly feigning indifference and reluctance. The bridegroom made himself as inconspicuous as possible, and tried to conceal himself in the midst of his companions. No ceremonies took place on the day of arrival, but the guests were given food and spent the night in the *simba* hut. On the following day the bridegroom was taken to the hut of the bride's mother and made formally known to her. Meat was killed and the day was spent feasting and drinking. Finally in the evening the bridegroom and the bride's father sat down together and the [533] bargaining began. The rest of the gathering were entertained by a professional minstrel who sang topical songs, some composed to meet the occasion. His fee, incidentally was a goat, which, for some reason I could not discover, had to be presented to him by the bride. He was also given presents by the girl's father and mother.

During the bargaining the bride's father tried to get as large a payment as possible out of the bridegroom. If he was too greedy the negotiations were broken off, and the bridegroom paid compensation for the expenses incurred in entertaining his party and for the loss of the bride's virginity. But if the two came to an agreement that agreement was final, and no further demands on the father's part or subtractions on the part of the bridegroom were allowed, unless the former demanded to see the cattle before accepting them. This was sometimes done, and if the cattle were unsatisfactory he might refuse to proceed with the marriage. If, on the other hand, he trusted the bridegroom, the negotiations were considered closed, and he might even consent to receive a proportion of the bride-price after instead of before the final marriage feast had taken place, and the girl left her home for good. In this case the bridegroom had to give an extra bull, known as the *ruadh kirisya*, which was sent over for inspection before the feast took place. If it was accepted the final ceremonies were then carried through.

583 In most cases the bride-price itself was paid by instalments over a period that varied with the ability of the bridegroom's father to meet his liabilities. Usually some months elapsed before the whole number of cattle had been handed over, and it might even be a year or two before the girl's father received all that was due to him. During this period it was customary for the girl to pay her future husband a visit from time to time. She was always accompanied on these visits by one or two girl friends, and was expected to stay for several days. She slept in the *simba* hut with her betrothed, and intercourse took place. It sometimes, though rarely, happened that the girl conceived [844] on one of these occasions. This was bad luck for the girl's parents, but fortunate for the bridegroom, for it was absolutely necessary that the child should be born in his *dala*. He could in consequence hurry on the marriage, which could now take place before the whole of the

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

dowry had been paid; he was thus enabled to spread his payments of the bride-price over a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. Also the fact that the girl was with child prevented her from being carried off by any other man; apparently a not unheard of occurrence. 583

The wedding feast itself—the *kirisya*—took place in the bridegroom's *dala*. The bride arrived accompanied by her sisters, or, if her sisters were too young to go with her, by her brothers' wives. She was also attended by one older woman, perhaps a married sister, who acted as a chaperone. It was the special duty of this older woman to see that the bride was properly treated, and to make herself polite to the father and mother of the bridegroom. But with this excepion older men and women were never included in the bride's party. Any man who attached himself to it would have been laughed at for mixing himself up with an affair that concerned women only. On the other hand not only did the bridegroom's sisters attend the feast but, as well, all his brothers, half brothers, and first cousins (in other words all the people he called " brother "), the wives of his brothers, and all his male friends. 585

As a rule the wedding feast lasted only one day, but if the guests had come long distances, it might last two or even three days. The feast consisted of porridge and meat. The young people were not given beer, but the bridegroom's mother usually brewed a small quantity for her husband and his brothers.

The meat provided consisted of the flesh of a bull which was cut up and apportioned according to certain definite rules. The division was the duty of the bridegroom's father, who first of all cut a small piece from the neck and sent it into the bridegroom's mother, who waited in her hut to receive it. He then cut more small pieces from the neck and scattered them outside and inside her hut. This was an offering to the ancestral spirits, and was accompanied by the following prayer:— 585 782

Dho waniego dhiang mar dhakonye juogi duto ubi ucham bad jachien aketo nü ticloka kwara gi woura gidega umi ringere nyani okwe natu kiringia marach obed man gima maber dalo duto.

Prayer and offering were together intended to placate the ancestral spirits and to persuade them to bless the marriage. After this the right fore leg was cut off and placed in the centre of the mother's hut. This fore-leg had a special name, *badjachien* and was a gift to all the ancestral spirits. It was afterwards eaten by the bridegroom's father and mother, and part of it was dried and sent to the bride's mother.

The whole of the breast, with the exception of a small piece reserved for the bridegroom's brothers, is sent to the brothers of the 585 184

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

845 852 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; [831 786 535] scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 831 535 786 *Miend Kumu* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well [882] *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the paricular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

● 583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

583 585 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

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ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simba,* where they spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest. 585

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new- [431]
"chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the [292]
occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi,* others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament [431]
round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about $^1/_2$ of an inch [301]
in diameter *(ataka)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a powo-tree. With this stick

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid
● 583 off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass
[301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over
273 with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from
[533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparations

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g.. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—EDITOR.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects.

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers.

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers.

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
604 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period
593 they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today. 721 674 583 178

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son. 422 428 595

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle. 428 [587]

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned. 437

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

273
234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu
326 Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst
439 the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes
[564] constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu
411 neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed,
278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived
534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands
584 at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken
585 by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already
587 paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with
586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after
583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters. The latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats,
[852] though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is
551 also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ochieng*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieh*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obonyo*—the man like a locust.

763 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *nuoro*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chode* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ochi* (in-laws) and *nuoga* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simbo* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to peove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruoth kode* (the "heifer of the stick"), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simbo*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kisera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and sustenance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that [illegible] coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acholi.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

to his home and continue to live in the *simbu*, the bride not cooking on her own, but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riw* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *abich* and his mother-in-law the goat of *aum thumbu*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *atoka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simbu* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simbu* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

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less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the abila*
Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Most to milkpot, next to sparkles, rest among new wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *ruoth kode* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ateko* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

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VI. RITUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAGE STRUCTURE

It is among the *oganda* segments subordinate to minimal *dhoot*, which have not had time to become too unequal in size, that the strictest adherence to the theory of co-ordination is practised. As an illustration of this I give here an account of the performance of *rite*—a ritual transaction between a husband and his wife's mother—at which I was present. It is a typical example of the co-ordinate activity of class B segments. The diagram (Fig. 7, facing p. 53) is a continuation of the chart (Fig. 6), and shows the members of the *dhoot* of Mboya (98) who participated or were represented on this occasion. Female as well as male members of the lineage participate; consequently the personnel of the smallest *oganda* segments includes both the wives and daughters of male lineage members, and so coincides with that of the extant elementary families. But in the genealogy of dead ancestors the daughters of members are omitted, as having normally married and become ancestresses in other lineages and so lost significance in their own, while the wives of members still have to be included for their structural importance.

Since a lineage tends to act ritually at two levels simultaneously—the superordinate lineage deployed into its major segments[1]—it is all the easier to picture it, even at its remoter ancestral levels, as a family divided into its component cells (see above, p. 51, 'compression'). It was the woman 'A' whose *rite* was being performed. She belongs to the elementary family of her mother Osiru, a minimal *oganda* segment. Osiru's two childless co-wives and the five others, with their sons, represent the compound polygynous family of Akoko-Ochieng', now dead. The compound family of his father, Ochieng'-Akoko, contained the four elementary families of Nyanewa, Bware, Owira, and Modi. Ochieng''s father Akoko-Mboya had been by one wife only, the elementary family of Agulo. Akoko-Mboya and his brother Ogwano together represent the elementary family of their mother Abiero, whose agnatic descendants constitute the *oganda* of Kabiero within which the *rite* was performed. Mboya had other wives besides Abiero, but their descendants are very few and do not live in the *gweng'* called after Mboya. The result is that the descendants of Abiero can call themselves *dhoot* Kamboya, since they have successfully claimed Mboya's name for it, but in ritual situations such as this it is more correct for them to call themselves *oganda* Kabiero, for *oganda* Kamboya would include the descendants of Mboya's other wives, who had no share in the occasion.

Rite is said to be a *singruok* (promise) with the mother of one's wife. Until it is performed the wife is technically free to go to her home and associate with other men, visiting the *simbe* (see p. 19) if she likes, but after *rite* has been performed she can no longer do so, and her own lineage would prevent her. The husband kills a bull, retains one foreleg for himself, and sends the rest to his wife's mother for division by the elders of the *oganda*. The senior living elder of *oganda* Kabiero is Dondi-Ochieng'. The first round of meat distribution (marked I on the diagram) was the taking of their shares by Dondi, Asumo, and Ojuok, senior living elders of the *oganda* segments of Bware, Owira, and Modi. Each of these, after taking his share home, made a subsidiary division of it to his senior brothers or to the eldest

[1] *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 51.

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sons of senior brothers who were dead; thus Dondi to Ong'wena, Dea, Nyagol, and Ogendo; Aconi to 'Ogwang' and to the eldest sons of Agalo and Oyuko who were dead; Oyuok to Were and Oyugi. This completed the major segments of the *ayanda* of Ochieng'-Akoko except for that of Nyaswa, the actual grandmother of the woman; this segment, as host, came last. The lineage of Ochieng'-Akoko has as its co-ordinates those of Mingwa, Okun, Geya, and Mboya. There were no representatives of Okun or Geya present, but Randa and Omolo were there for Mingwa and Mboya, and their taking of shares completed the distribution to the major segments of the *ayanda* of Akoko-Mboya (marked II on the diagram). This latter has one co-ordinate in the *ayanda* of Ogwena, which was represented by Ogwena's senior grandson Osimbo, who took his portion to share it with Owade and Ogwena, younger brothers, and Obora, eldest son of his dead brother Were. Thus the senior structure of *ayanda* Kabiero (marked III on the diagram) was represented in the ritual. There followed the distribution within the 'host' *ayanda* of Nyaswa, the woman's own grandmother (IV on the diagram). First the woman's half-brothers Obware, Kaswa, Osano, Otula, Awuor, Hezra Mboya, and Alooch took their portions; then there was a separate distribution in the *ayanda* of Osiro (V on the diagram) to the woman's senior brothers Paulo Mboya,[1] Nyaswa, and Ogego.

During the morning, before the actual distribution was made, all the elders present ate together certain other portions of meat[2] which by custom have to be eaten raw on this occasion. Besides this there was the customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother; the neck and top ribs to be cooked by the woman's mother for her brothers to eat together with any friends they like to call; the kidneys to be cooked by the woman's sisters who are still in their mother's house, and eaten by them together with any friends they like to call, and the liver and remaining ribs and offal to be eaten by all the women of the homestead where the division is made. The division of the animal might be tabulated as follows:

1. Fore foreleg: for the daughters, husband of the woman.
2. Second foreleg: for all the descendants of the woman's father (except those who receive under 4).
3. Fore hindleg: (*a*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of each of the co-wives of the woman's paternal grandmother, and to be shared by them with their surviving senior brothers and the eldest sons of any deceased senior brothers;
   (*b*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the senior brothers of the woman's paternal grandfather and similarly shared by them;
   (*c*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the senior brothers of the woman's paternal great-grandfather and similarly shared by them. (No intermediate division to the heads of the houses of the co-wives of the woman's great-grandmother because Agalo was the only wife of Akoko-Mboya.)
4. Second hindleg: for the woman's mother and her sons.
5. Neck and top ribs: for the woman's brothers and their friends.

[1] Paulo Mboya was Chief of Kanaboneyo from 1921 to 1948, and since then has been Executive Secretary of the Local Native Council of South Kavirondo. In 1948 he was appointed to represent Kenya Africans on the East Africa Central Assembly. I was deeply indebted to him for much kind assistance during my stay in Kanaboneyo.

[2] These were *dwon (kuonyi), chuel ng'o (shins), chuel apuru (rump), ulwa, and adudo. Obi, adudo, and uringo are eaten after they have been cooked by the method of bale—roasting by holding them over the open fire.*

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6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the women's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends.
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother. 583 ●
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bule*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every 613
case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. 782
These are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indi- 769
cated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of rite.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is 613
also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceed- 574
ingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 273
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage. [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage seg- 613
ments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 574
order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the repre- 576
sentatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices [illegible] with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

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159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

[682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however,
● 583 had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a pongo and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
682

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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, when the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a *panga* in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

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583 injured and not infrequently death results. Indigenously the
682 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue these arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Whenever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

682 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
[262] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Luo women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

586 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

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762 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 159 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Joluo.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

• [583] It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 159 595 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

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848 source of much social rejoicing to discover that a
[836] married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a
[585] bride was given a high prestige among the other women.
[554] In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate
child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man
[595] with a number of wives. There was no possibility of
occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and
[583] the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was
taken by the man who legally married her, but she was
not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything
was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

848 Examples of such pregnancies are very common at
17.8 present. But although social disapproval is still keenly
684 felt, modern conditions have become more favourable
to women in this situation, and an increasing number
of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some
communities, no death punishment was ever given. If
the occurrence takes place between close relatives the
matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple
could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

871 Progress in the education of adolescent girls is ham-
883 pered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suit-
562 ability to the environment of their women. To the
178 majority, modern education is associated with clerical
work and the many other jobs that men take up after a
school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not
clearly envisaged.

[582] The social importance attached to marriage is having
to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the
raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability
to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high
esteem for the traditional education which it tends to
interrupt and weaken.

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group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

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Aspects of Marriage

Dowry. The payment of a dowry takes place when the suitor of a young woman has formally presented himself to her parents and obtained their consent. Having agreed to marry him, the woman arranges the interview with the parents. The news of his coming is generally communicated to the father through the mother. In certain matters relating to her sexual life, the girl might confide in her mother, with whom she naturally feels very much at home.

The traditional marriage. The traditional marriage, which has undergone considerable modification in many respects, is characterized by a number of ceremonies. The ceremonies which follow take place after the 'meko' or 'catching', a term applied to the act of seizing a girl and dragging her to her husband's home. This 'catching' is arranged by the husband and his relatives. Normally the girl is aware of it long before it takes place. The time when it will occur can be estimated by considering the number of cattle paid in—between seven and eight according to my own experience. After this time arrives the girl must restrict her movements lest she tempt her suitor to 'catch' her.

Having decided to 'catch' her, he tries by several methods to get her out of the reach of her brothers, who would normally put up a strong fight before allowing their sister to go. If the bridegroom's friends fail to lure her away from her home, they attempt to 'catch' her in it. But this can be done only where there is no strong force of young men to match the raiders. In such an event, arrangements would be secretly made with the woman in whose hut the girl sleeps; and a small payment having been made to her, the bride is seized in the dark.

Sometimes the father gives permission for his daughter

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to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let
583 his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

585 Among the majority of young women an unwilling-
152 ness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violet outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

585 *The traditional ceremonies.* The news that a particular girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a
[836] group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the

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meat to be shared among the different families within the larger lineage to which the husband belongs. This is followed by a big feast at the girl's home where people spend a whole night outside, drinking, eating, and singing. When the girl returns to his home it is time for the husband to continue paying dowry as demanded by her parents.

The final ceremony marking the completion of the dowry and indicating the husband's satisfaction with his wife is called 'riso'. At this the husband slaughters an animal and gives a great feast to his relatives.

Variants of traditional marriage customs. With the introduction of modern ideas and the widening of the people's physical environment, a large number of special marriages now occur which omit various features of the traditional ceremony. This is especially true of marriages where there is a strong basis of love. In such instances a young woman may go to her suitor without ceremony after making some private arrangement.

Christian influence has greatly modified marriage. Like the traditional marriage the Christian version is characterized by many ceremonies, some new and some old. Thus in the traditional marriage the husband is required at each stage to make several payments in live animals to cover certain procedures, and in Christian marriage he can cover all of them at once by paying a live animal or some money.

The violence which characterized former marriages is absent from the Christian ceremony. In reality, what happens inside the church is purely western, but what occurs outside is a blend of modified traditional practices and certain features of western life. Christian marriage is distinguished from traditional marriage by the large expense involved. Thus, contrary to what might be expected, it is among the Christians that people exist who

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585 demand very high dowries for their daughters. Like the
177 traditional marriage it[1] is also accompanied by con-
[583] siderable emotional strain, felt more by the mother and
[152] female children than by the male members of the family.

[1] [i.e. Christian marriage. – Analyst]